

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MANILA 08130 01 OF 02 270527Z

ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 DHA-02 CU-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00

INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01 H-01

PRS-01 /043 W

-----270532Z 073128 /14/10

R 260858Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0334

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 8130

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y F O R T E X T

FOR E, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE, D/HA, CU AND NSC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, RP

SUBJECT: EXPANDED MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM

REF: (A) STATE 118569, (B) MANILA 3128, (C) MANILA A-25

1. INTRODUCTION: THREE OFFICERS OF THE EMBASSY'S POLITICAL SECTION (FSOS WENZEL, SALMON AND PRINGLE) HAVE TAKEN STRONG EXCEPTION TO A RECENT EMBASSY PROPOSAL FOR AN EXPANDED PROGRAM OF TRAINING FOR THE PHILIPPINE MILITARY. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR WASHINGTON ELEMENTS TO HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THEIR VIEWS WHICH ARE INCLUDED IN PARAGRAPHS 2 THROUGH 9. I HAVE ADDED MY OWN COMMENTS IN PARAGRAPH 10.

2. THE EMBASSY HAS PROPOSED AN EXPANDED PROGRAM OF TRAINING FOR THE PHILIPPINE MILITARY, FROM A CURRENT LEVEL OF \$600,000 TO APPROXIMATELY \$2 MILLION PER YEAR. THE EXPANDED TRAINING WOULD, IT IS HOPED, EMPHASIZE "BROADER DISCIPLINES" SUCH AS MANAGEMENT, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS. IT WOULD  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MANILA 08130 01 OF 02 270527Z

REEXERT AMERICAN INFLUENCE OVER YOUNGER MILITARY MEN WHO ARE BECOMING LESS FERVENTLY PRO-U.S. THAN THEIR FOREBEARS. WITHOUT SUCH TRAINING (SO GOES THE ARGUMENT) THERE IS SOME DANGER THAT WE MAY AT SOME POINT BE FACED WITH AN UNCONGENIAL GROUND SWELL OF RADICAL NATIONALISM AMONG A GENERATION OF OFFICERS STEELED BY CONFLICT IN MINDANAO. THE EMBASSY'S ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT (REF A) SUGGESTED SOME

ALTERNATIVE ARGUMENTS WHICH ARE DEVELOPED MORE FULLY IN THIS MESSAGE.

3. AT PRESENT A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION (ALMOST 40 PERCENT) OF TOTAL USG MONEY SPENT ON TRAINING AND EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES ALREADY GOES TO THE MILITARY. FY 1976 DATA ARE AS FOLLOWS:

FY 1976 USG EXPENDITURE ON TRAINING FOR FILIPINOS

AGENCY	NO. TRAINEES/EXCHANGEES	AMOUNT
USAID	161	\$665,085
JUSMAG	113	470,288
FULBRIGHT	88	54,248
LEADER GRANT (IV)	19	57,583

WITH THE PROPOSED INCREASE IN MILITARY TRAINING, APPROXIMATELY THREE-QUARTERS OF ALL USG TRAINING FUNDS WOULD BE ALLOCATED TO THE MILITARY. WE BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE UNWISE FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS, AS FOLLOWS:

4. SUPPORT FOR MARTIAL LAW. THE PROGRAM WOULD STRONGLY SUPPORT THE BROADENED INFLUENCE WHICH THE MILITARY HAS ATTAINED UNDER MARTIAL LAW. IT WOULD IMPLY A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY THAT A MILITARY-TECHNOCRAT CLASS WILL BE RUNNING THE PHILIPPINES IN FUTURE. THE MAJORITY OF COGNIZANT CIVILIANS WHO HOPE THAT MARTIAL LAW IS A TEMPORARY PHENOMENON, AS IT MAY BE, COULD JUSTIFIABLY SEE THE PROGRAM AS A VIOLATION OF OUR OWN NEWLY REEMPHASIZED STRESS ON DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

5. SUPPORT FOR MILITARY "DUAL FUNCTION" AS IN INDONESIA.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MANILA 08130 01 OF 02 270527Z

AS THINGS STAND, THE PHILIPPINES IS FORTUNATE TO BE THE ONLY COUNTRY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WITH A STRONG, WELL-EDUCATED, NON-CHINESE ENTREPRENEURIAL CLASS. IN OTHER COUNTRIES (INDONESIA IS THE CLASSIC EXAMPLE) THE MILITARY HAVE OFTEN BEEN DRAWN INTO DEVELOPMENT LEADERSHIP BECAUSE NO OTHER POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE ELEMENT IS AVAILABLE TO DO THE JOB. ALTHOUGH THAT IS NOT THE CASE HERE, THINGS ARE ALREADY MOVING IN THE SAME DIRECTION WITHOUT OUR ASSISTANCE. EVEN NOW THE COLONEL AS COMPANY DIRECTOR IS AN INCREASINGLY COMMON PHENOMENON. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO STIMULATE, MUCH LESS FINANCE, THIS TREND.

6. PRESERVING THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. THE EMBASSY HAS ARGUED ELSEWHERE THAT MUCH OF THE US-PHILIPPINE "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" IS OUTDATED, UNHEALTHY AND NEEDS TO BE REORDERED. WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE AFFECTION WHICH CHARACTERIZES THIS RELATIONSHIP IS BALANCED BY A PANDORA'S BOX PLAGUE OF EMOTIONAL HANGUPS, WHICH TAKEN TOGETHER CONSTITUTE AN ARCHAIC IMPEDIMENT TO RATIONAL DEALINGS. IF THIS

IS A VALID POLICY THEME, IT IS SURELY INCONSISTENT TO COMPLAIN THAT A NEW GENERATION OF PHILIPPINE MILITARY OFFICERS MAY NOT LOVE US QUITE AS MUCH AS THEIR SLAVISHLY PRO-AMERICAN FOREBEARS OF THE FIFTIES. IN OUR VIEW THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE SOMEWHAT MORE NATIONALISTIC, INDEPENDENT STANCE WHICH WE PERCEIVE IN THE YOUNGER OFFICERS HAS REACHED OR WILL REACH RADICAL LEVELS. IT IS RATHER, IN OUR VIEW, PART OF A GENERALLY HEALTHY AND LONG OVERDUE TREND.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MANILA 08130 02 OF 02 261029Z  
ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 DHA-02 CU-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00  
INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01 H-01  
PRS-01 /043 W

-----261037Z 052473 /15

R 260858Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 335

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MANILA 8130

LIMDIS

FOR EA, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE, D/HA, CU AND NSC

7. DOES TRAINING EQUAL AFFECTION? WE ARE NOT CONFIDENT THAT THE PROGRAM WOULD NECESSARILY INCREASE THE SUM TOTAL OF PHILIPPINE GOOD WILL FOR THE U.S. EXPERIENCE RANGING FROM QADHAFI'S TRAINING IN BRITAIN TO RECENT ETHIOPIAN DEVELOPMENTS PROVES THE UNWISDOM OF ASSUMING AN AUTOMATIC EQUATING BETWEEN TRAINING AND THE TRANSFER OF INFLUENCE, HUMANISTIC VALUES OR AFFECTION.

8. LACK OF INTEREST? IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE AFP HAS EXPRESSED RATHER LITTLE INTEREST IN THE KIND OF TRAINING PROPOSED, AND THAT THEY WOULD CERTAINLY NOT PAY FOR IT WITH THEIR OWN FUNDS. WE BELIEVE THAT IN GENERAL IT MAKES SENSE TO LET THEIR OWN SENSE OF PRIORITIES GUIDE THE KIND OF MILITARY AID WE PROVIDE, AS ONE TOKEN OF A MORE MATURE, LESS "SPECIAL" RELATIONSHIP.

9. CONCLUSION. WE BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. COULD AND

SHOULD EXPAND TRAINING AND EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES IN THE  
PHILIPPINES AS ELSEWHERE. IN SO DOING WE SHOULD PRESERVE  
AND BUILD ON THE MOST ENDURING CONTRIBUTION OF OUR  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MANILA 08130 02 OF 02 261029Z

COLONIAL TUTELAGE, NAMELY A RELATIVELY BROADLY BASED  
CLASS OF CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS AND ENTREPRENEURS. WE  
SHOULD IN NO WAY ENCOURAGE OR APPEAR TO ENCOURAGE  
REVERSION TOWARD A MORE TYPICALLY SOUTHEAST ASIAN PATTERN  
OF MILITARY SOCIO-ECONOMIC DOMINANCE. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION  
TO SOME "HUMANIZATION" OF MILITARY TRAINING CURRICULA BY  
THE INJECTION OF MORE DEVELOPMENT-ORIENTED SUBJECT MATTER.  
BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT RATIO OF MILITARY  
TO CIVILIAN TRAINING SHOULD BE INCREASED, OR THAT THE  
RATIONALE OF USING TRAINING TO GENERATE INFLUENCE IS  
CONVINCING.

10. CHARGE'S COMMENT: THE ABOVE REPRESENTS THE CONSIDERED  
VIEW OF THREE PERCEPTIVE OFFICERS. THEIRS IS A RESPECTABLE  
POSITION, WORTHY OF ATTENTION, WITH WHICH HOWEVER I DISAGREE  
FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

A. USG FUNDING OF EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WITH THE PHILIP-  
PINES FOR CIVILIANS IS INADEQUATE, ABSOLUTELY AND RELATIVE  
TO THAT FOR MILITARY PROGRAMS. I WOULD PREFER, HOWEVER, TO  
REDRESS THE BALANCE BY INCREASING THE CIVILIAN RATHER THAN  
DECREASING THE MILITARY. THE ISSUE, TO MY MIND, IS MORE  
PRAGMATIC THAN PHILOSOPHICAL: IF WE CAN GET INCREASED  
FUNDING FOR MILITARY PROGRAMS LET'S DO IT; IF WE CAN DO  
SO FOR THE CIVILIAN PROGRAMS, EVEN BETTER. MOREOVER,  
I TRUST WE SHALL BE ABLE TO INCLUDE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
CIVILIANS IN ANY MILITARY PROGRAM.

B. WHILE THERE OF COURSE IS NO TRADE OFF IN SCALE  
BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL AND ARMS TRANSFERS, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL  
BENEFIT OF INCREASING TRAINING AS ARMS TRANSFERS DECREASE  
PROBABLY IS WORTH CONSIDERING.

C. IN ANY EVENT, USG FUNDED EXCHANGES ARE BEST  
UNDERSTOOD IN THE TOTALITY OF THE EXCHANGE OF PERSONS  
BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE PHILIPPINES. IN THIS REGARD,  
PARTIAL DATA INDICATE THAT APPROXIMATELY 1,700 FILIPINOS  
ARE STUDYING IN THE U.S.; OUR CONSULATE ISSUES ABOUT 1000  
STUDENT VISAS A YEAR; AND FROM 175 TO 225 FILIPINOS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MANILA 08130 02 OF 02 261029Z

PARTICIPATE ANNUALLY AT THE EAST-WEST CENTER IN HONOLULU.  
FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE, THE 500-ODD EXCHANGEES WHO MIGHT  
BE FUNDED UNDER A \$2 MILLION PER YEAR MILITARY PROGRAM WOULD

NOT LOOM QUITE SO LARGE.

D. EXCHANGE OF PERSONS PROGRAMS ARE NOT A MATTER OF LOVING, OF COURSE, BUT OF UNDERSTANDING. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THESE PROGRAMS WORK AMONG THE 150,000 ALUMNI OF THE DEPARTMENT'S PROGRAMS, INCLUDING CURRENTLY OVER 20 CHIEFS OF STATE, MORE THAN 250 CABINET MINISTERS AND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF LEGISLATORS, EDUCATORS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHER KEY INDIVIDUALS IN AMERICA AND ABROAD. IT IS ALSO A MATTER OF FAITH AS J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT PUT IT IN HIS LAST STATEMENT IN THE SENATE, "WHAT WE CAN DO THROUGH THE POWER OF CREATIVE HUMAN INTERACTION IN SCHOLARLY AND OTHER FIELDS, IS TO EXPAND THE BOUNDARIES OF HUMAN WISDOM, SYMPATHY AND PERCEPTION. THE PROCESS IS SLOW MOVING BUT POWERFUL; IT MAY NOT BE ENOUGH, BUT IT IS THE BEST AVAILABLE, AND ITS PROPER PLACE IS AT THE CENTER OF OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CONCERNS. PERHAPS THE GREATEST POWER OF SUCH INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE IS TO CONVEY NATIONS INTO PEOPLES AND TO TRANSLATE IDEOLOGIES INTO HUMAN ASPIRATIONS. I DO NOT THINK SUCH EXCHANGE IS CERTAIN TO PRODUCE AFFECTION BETWEEN PEOPLES, NOR INDEED IS THAT ONE OF ITS ESSENTIAL PURPOSES; IT IS ENOUGH IF IT CONTRIBUTES TO THE FEELING OF A COMMON HUMANITY, TO AN EMOTIONAL AWARENESS THAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE POPULATED NOT BY DOCTRINES THAT WE FEAR BUT BY INDIVIDUALS--PEOPLE WITH THE SAME CAPACITY FOR PLEASURE AND PAIN, FOR CRUELTY AND KINDNESS, AS THE PEOPLE WE WERE BROUGHT UP WITH IN OUR OWN COUNTRY."

11. AS TO INTEREST WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PHILIPPINES, I HAVE DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT WITH SEVERAL OFFICERS INCLUDING MAJOR GENERAL RAMOS AND BRIGADIER GENERAL DE LEON AND FOUND THEM SUPPORTIVE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MANILA 08130 02 OF 02 261029Z

12. IT'S GOOD TO HAVE OFFICERS WHO WILL DISAGREE WITH YOU.  
STULL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY TRAINING, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, PROGRAMS (PROJECTS)  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 26-May-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977MANILA08130  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770212-0235, D770188-0343  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MANILA  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770515/aaaaamlb.tel  
**Line Count:** 265  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 4d6e3289-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** 77 STATE 118569, 77 MANILA 3128, 77 MANILA A-25  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2357493  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** EXPANDED MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM  
**TAGS:** MASS, MORG, RP, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/4d6e3289-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009